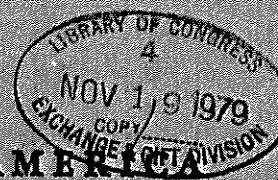


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No. 10

PROCEEDINGS PAGES HOUSE H3855 TO H4303

SENATE S6767 TO S7261

EXTENSIONS PAGES E2559 TO E2836

May 30 to June 8, 1979

Mr. HAMILTON. On this side we find this amendment quite acceptable. It supports an idea that I think has considerable merit, the establishment of a peace development fund. So, we accept the amendment.

Mr. LEVITAS. I thank the gentleman from Indiana.

I would also point out that similar language has already been adopted by the House as a result of an amendment which was offered in legislation considered earlier.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVITAS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman for his amendment. I went to Israel a few weeks ago, and was concerned about the fact that the settlement was placing an enormous economic burden on the American people, and I returned really concerned about the economic burden this places on the people of the State of Israel. They are undergoing a crushing burden in that country.

In fact, in connection with this legislation we investigated the possibility of them having some concessionary interest rates, because they have given up some \$7 billion worth of infrastructures such as roads, waterways, telephone facilities, military bases in connection with the Egyptian-Sinai agreement.

They have a 60-percent rate of inflation; they have an extraordinary national debt that equals 1 year's gross national product, so anything that can be done to increase the assistance to that nation to ease the burden on those people, it seems to me, is well advised.

I commend the gentleman on his amendment.

Mr. LEVITAS. I thank the gentleman, and commend him for his comments.

(Mr. COUGHLIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVITAS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Chairman, I also want to compliment the gentleman for a most excellent amendment. I wonder if the gentleman would be amenable to a slight change in the amendment as far as the wording is concerned.

We have here the word "negotiate" in line 5. I wonder if we could change the word to "consult"? After all, the word "negotiate" conjures up the idea of difference between the two parties. We may not really have a difference here between the European countries and ourselves, because the European countries are already contributing to many of the Middle East countries.

I was wondering if line 5 could be changed to say, " * * * take all appropriate steps to consult with other countries and to promote agreement * * * "

Mr. LEVITAS. I think the gentleman for his observations. I understand that Members of the other body who considered this amendment had also thought that that might be a more appropriate phraseology.

Therefore, I have no objection to the suggestions made by the gentleman from Wisconsin, and certainly would concur with them.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that those two slight changes be made.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVITAS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I want to state my support for the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. LEVITAS. I think the gentleman from Illinois for his support, and commend him again on his leadership in bringing this bill to the floor.

Mr. RITTER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, as the author of the original legislation calling for establishment of a Middle East peace development fund to share the costs of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, I am delighted that this concept is now before us once again as an amendment to H.R. 4035, having passed the Senate not long ago.

On March 22 of this year, I first introduced my proposal, House Concurrent Resolution 85. That resolution called for creation of a Middle East peace development fund, into which our industrialized allies, such as the Western European nations and Japan, would be encouraged to contribute, to help pay the cost of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. My resolution urged the President to begin negotiations with our allies toward that end. Upon introducing my proposal, I pointed out that the United States had already done far more than any other nation to achieve the success of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty—yet that the United States is by no means the only nation that benefits from peace.

The response I received from my colleagues on both sides of the aisle was tremendous. It was clear that my legislation had touched upon a point that many Americans feel strongly about. In fact, my peace development fund bill soon had 105 cosponsors, covering all shades of the political spectrum.

On April 9, I offered my legislation as an amendment to H.R. 3324, the International Development Cooperation Act, and it passed the House on that date.

Subsequently, on May 14, the concept of a Middle East peace development fund was passed by the Senate in its version of the Middle East Peace Treaty authorization bill.

Today, my colleague from Georgia (Mr. LEVITAS) is offering the Middle East peace development fund concept as an amendment to H.R. 4035. I commend my colleague for doing so. He recognizes the global aspects of the Middle East Peace Treaty. He understands what I stated when I first offered my peace development fund measure—namely, that all nations, especially those which depend on oil from a stable Middle East, have a stake in the success of the peace treaty.

Yet, of those nations, only one people—the American people—are being asked to bear the costly burden of peace.

I urge my colleagues to join with me today, by supporting this amendment, to urge the President to begin negotiations with other nations to do their part, and to stand with the United States in helping to assure the economic development and military security of the Middle East, and in sharing the weighty cost of peace.

(Mr. RITTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEVITAS), as modified.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WAXMAN

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WAXMAN: Page 8, after line 19, insert the following new section:

PLANNING FOR TRILATERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION BY EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND THE UNITED STATES

SEC. 8. (a) It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to continue to build the structure of peace in the Middle East, the United States should be prepared to participate, at an appropriate time, in trilateral cooperative projects of a scientific and technological nature involving Egypt, Israel, and the United States.

(b) Therefore, the President shall develop a plan to guide the participation of both United States Government agencies and private institutions in such projects. This plan shall identify—

(1) potential projects in a variety of areas appropriate for scientific and technological cooperation by the three countries, including agriculture, health, energy, the environment, education, and water resources;

(2) the resources which are available or which would be needed to implement such projects; and

(3) the means by which such projects would be implemented.

(c) The President shall transmit the plan developed pursuant to subsection (b) to the Congress within 12 months after the date of enactment of this Act.

□ 1530

(Mr. WAXMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I am offering today represents the culmination of more than a year's work to bring greater attention by the administration to the prospect that in the near future, as part of the peace process, Egypt, Israel, and the United States might participate in cooperative projects designed to solve common problems.

This bill underwrites the commitments the United States has made pursuant to the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel. We can be proud of the role we are playing in bringing to a close a 30-year cycle of war, tragedy, and destruction. The generosity and strength of the United States behind this agreement made possible the sacrifices and pledges both countries made to wage peace together.

The vision of peace is deep. The hopes it inspires can be enormous. And one of those hopes, part of that vision, is that some day both countries will want to work together to solve common problems.

The challenges facing the peoples of Egypt and Israel defy political boundaries. The human opportunities extend across the border which divides them—a border which just last Friday was opened by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin.

In agriculture, water resources, health, energy, geology, the delivery of social services—in all these areas, among others, there exists the strongest possible basis for both countries to work together to meet human needs and promote regional prosperity.

The virtue of regional cooperation in the Middle East was recognized by the Congress last year when it authorized, as part of the International Security Assistance legislation, a \$5 million fund to encourage cooperative projects in the interests of peace between the nations in the area.

In so doing, the Congress recognized that ties in the areas of science and technology enhance the political bonds which have been established, adding to the structure of peace in the Middle East.

The amendment I am offering today is designed to insure that the United States will be prepared to participate as effectively as possible with Egypt and Israel in trilateral projects in science and technology.

The amendment simply requires the President to develop a plan which will guide our participation in such projects. The plan is to identify: the potential areas of cooperation; the resources available to carry out such projects; and the possible means to implement them.

It is my hope and intent that the President will entrust primary responsibility for the preparation of this plan in his Office of Science and Technology Policy, which is well informed about and has informally monitored developments in this area, and the Department of State.

It is my intention that this plan be broad, that it explore potential projects in a variety of areas in both science and technology and the social sciences. Those conducting the study are encouraged to contact as many people as possible, inside and outside the Government, in developing this plan. Finally, the plan should review a variety of means by which the United States would participate in such projects, from encouragement to private entities to wholehearted Government involvement.

I would note further that nothing in this amendment requires the United States to participate in such projects. It only requires anticipatory planning on our part should these opportunities arise.

My interest in these questions grew out of an interagency meeting which I convened over a year ago. Officials representing nearly two dozen public and private agencies and groups met to discuss these possibilities. The overwhelming consensus which emerged was that a concerted effort to develop a plan to coordinate a comprehensive policy for trilateral

cooperation in the Middle East should be undertaken. This amendment is a step toward implementing that consensus.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a report on that meeting which I sent to the President's science adviser:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., March 22, 1978.

DR. FRANK PRESS,
Director, Office of Science and Technology Policy, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. PRESS: I am pleased to inform you of the results of the interagency meeting held earlier today on the prospects for trilateral scientific cooperation between the United States, Egypt, and Israel. It was an extremely fruitful discussion, which explored several aspects—scientific, bureaucratic, and political—of this concept. I was especially impressed with the fact that almost all the participants had independently given serious consideration and reached certain common conclusions regarding the opportunities for such an endeavor presented by the prospects for peace in the Middle East. It reinforces my conviction that this concept deserves continuing attention at the highest levels of the government.

The consensus which developed at the meeting may be outlined as follows:

(1) There are numerous, if not unlimited, areas of potential cooperation between Egypt and Israel in research, applied science, and the social sciences. Every agency and institution represented suggested specific proposals which could be implemented. They range from agriculture and water use to solar energy to the delivery of health care and social services. Although some caution was expressed regarding ambitious, high capital projects, such as a Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal or the siting of a powerplant serving both countries, there was no question that several projects of immediate value involving researchers, technicians, and the general population could be agreed upon with little difficulty.

(2) Although there are some areas in which the two countries enjoy relatively equal expertise such as in engineering, geology, water development, and some aspects of health care, there are many more in which there is an imbalance in human and technological resources. In many instances, such as in agriculture and pure scientific and biomedical research, Israel enjoys an advantage. In others, such as in the treatment of tropical diseases, Egypt is more advanced, even with respect to the United States. Care must therefore be taken, in devising cooperative projects, that they not be marked by a recipient-donor relationship, but rather be truly collaborative in which each side can participate on an equitable basis.

(3) There have been growing, but informal contacts with scientists in Egypt and Israel on these possibilities. Israelis are apparently eager to begin working immediately with their Egyptian colleagues. Egyptian scientists, on the other hand, have expressed two reservations: first, with respect to what was mentioned above, that they will be overwhelmed by Israeli expertise and resources to the detriment of their ability to establish themselves fully as partners; and second, that such an effort, in the absence of peace, is premature. Nevertheless, scientists from the two countries have enjoyed the opportunity to meet on an informal basis at conferences sponsored by third parties. This was seen as extremely helpful in encouraging the development of an ongoing interest in these matters, and should be facilitated, wherever possible, by both government agencies and private organizations.

(4) Caution was expressed over the dangers of intertwining too closely science and poli-

tics. It was felt that good science is good politics, but that efforts designed to achieve expressly political purposes may easily fail. The need to develop projects of the highest scientific value, with as few political conditions as possible placed on them, was essential to the success of this effort.

(5) All the agencies at the meeting are eager, because of the enormous rewards which are possible, to contribute to the further development of this concept. However, for this to occur, there needs to be an affirmative mandate from the Administration, and the provisions of adequate funds for projects and staff.

Most importantly, it was felt that the absence of a full peace between Egypt and Israel should not in any way preclude the Administration from beginning to plan, coordinate, and develop a comprehensive policy for such cooperation in anticipation of an appropriate opportunity to implement it.

Indeed, direction and guidance from the highest levels of the Administration is seen as indispensable in this regard. It is believed, further, that your office should assume a leadership role by virtue of its unique vantage, the prestige associated with it, its emphasis on science and technology, and its ability to provide the most objective source of guidance and planning.

New legislation, such as Senator Humphrey's comprehensive foreign assistance reorganization, and new authority under the Middle East Special Requirement Fund, may also be necessary.

It is my personal hope that you will be responsive to these suggestions and begin this process in the near future. I am prepared as well to sponsor any legislation which would assist this effort and believe that it would enjoy broad support in the Congress.

There were, obviously, many other concerns which were expressed which this letter does not address, but I hope this is helpful to you, and that it faithfully transmits the sense of genuine enthusiasm which has greeted these proposals. I would be pleased to meet with you at your convenience to discuss this further. Enclosed is a list of participants at today's meeting for your reference.

With good wishes, I am
Sincerely,

HENRY A. WAXMAN,
Member of Congress.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Mr. Al Chapman, Office of Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Department of State, Room 4327A, Washington, D.C.

Mr. T. W. Aedminster, Administrator for Federal Research, Science and Education Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, Room 302A, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Bodo Bartocha, Director, International Programs, Division of International Programs, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. 20550

Mr. Gerald Kamens, Agency for International Development, Department of State, AID/NE/EI, Room 5318, Washington, D.C.

Mr. James Slater, Department of Interior, Office of the Secretary, Room 5156, Washington, D.C. 20250

Mr. Nels Johnson, National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, 6010 Executive Boulevard, Rockville, Maryland 20805

Mr. Steffen Peiser, U.S. Department of Commerce, National Bureau of Standards, Washington, D.C. 20234

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Mr. Ken Schmertz, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Lawrence Wyatt, Director, Office of International Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201

Mr. R. E. Robertson III, Department of Energy, Room 7213, 20 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20545

Linda Vogel, HEW, Room 18-90, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland 20852

Mr. Jay Davenport, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20418

Dr. George Hammond, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20418

Dr. Donald Oakley, Environmental Protection Agency, A-106, Washington, D.C. 20460

Samuel E. Bunker, Deputy Head, Middle East and Africa Office, Ford Foundation, 320 E. 43rd Street, New York 10017

Dr. Kenneth Warren, Director of Health Services, Rockefeller Foundation, New York City

Dr. Jeremy Stone, Director, Federation of American Scientists, 307 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C.

Mr. James Ehrman, IO/DHP, Department of State, 5327 New State, Washington, D.C. 20520

Dr. Forrest R. Frank, Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs, House of Representatives, 2170 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515

Mrs. Betsy Stephens, Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20418

Mr. Chairman, I very much hope this amendment will be adopted. I want to express my profound gratitude to the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. HAMILTON, for his support, encouragement, and assistance, and to the distinguished chairman of the full committee, Mr. ZABLOCKI, for his guidance and support.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAXMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I have had a chance to examine the gentleman's amendment, and I support it.

Mr. WAXMAN. I thank the gentleman for his support.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAXMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding. We, too, have had an opportunity on this side to examine the amendment. The opportunity for scientific and technical cooperation is one more practical step to be taken in the Middle East. I commend the gentleman on his amendment, and we are prepared to accept it.

Mr. WAXMAN. I thank the gentleman for his kind words about the amendment.

I very much want to express my profound gratitude to the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) for his support, encouragement, and assistance, and to the distinguished chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Wis-

consin (Mr. ZABLOCKI) for his guidance and support.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN).

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DANNEMEYER

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DANNEMEYER: Page 8, immediately after line 19, insert the following new section:

REPORT ON COSTS TO THE UNITED STATES OF IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL

SEC. 9. Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Congress a detailed and comprehensive report on the costs to the United States Government associated with implementation of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The report shall include estimates of all costs of any kind to any department or agency of the United States Government which may result from United States activities in support of the peace treaty.

(Mr. DANNEMEYER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DANNEMEYER. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. SYMMS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. DANNEMEYER).

I am particularly concerned about an aspect of this legislation which I do not believe was thoroughly examined on the Senate side. Although we are now considering a \$4.8 billion aid package for Israel and Egypt, will there not be additional requests from Israel, and particularly Egypt, in the near future over and above this \$4.8 billion. I know that the witnesses from the executive branch who testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee said that there were no new U.S. commitments, understandings, or assurances that had not already been made public and provided to the committee. But as I recall, during the consideration of the Panama Canal Treaty, there were to be no costs to the American taxpayer; and now we are considering implementing legislation which amounts to a considerable cost to the taxpayer.

My point is that there should be a full accounting of the costs of this agreement so that the American taxpayer will know what this agreement is really going to cost.

It looks as though the United States alone will have to help Egypt re-equip its 500,000-man armed forces due to the loss of potential Arab sources of aid. Egypt was supposed to begin receiving 50 F-5 aircraft, to be paid for by Saudi Arabia, in 1978, but delivery was postponed because the Saudis withheld payment pending the outcome of the treaty negotiations. President Sadat has said that he expects Saudi Arabia to withdraw its commitment on the planes and

that he will have to ask the Americans for help. The amount for these planes ranges from \$400 million, according to a Library of Congress study, to \$525 million as quoted in the New York Times of May 22, 1979. Now it is possible that these funds for the planes are included in the \$1.5 billion for military sales credits in the supplemental aid request we are presently considering. But that is not clear.

There are also some additional costs which may crop up in the future to maintain the peace between Egypt and Israel that have not been mentioned in conjunction with this supplemental aid package. According to the terms of the Middle East Peace Treaty, the United States will continue surveillance flights over the Sinai for the 3-year term of the treaty, and the cost of this is unknown. The United States will presumably provide about 25 percent of the funds to support the United Nations force and observers called for in the treaty. (The U.N. Emergency Forces now in the Sinai will cost about \$78.5 million for 1979.) And due to the Arab League's economic boycott against Egypt, and the fact that many of the Arab nations have broken diplomatic relations with Egypt, the United States may feel compelled to offer even further assistance to Egypt in order to keep its economy from crumbling and the peace agreement from falling apart.

I think in the administration's efforts to forge a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, they did not consider all of the costs of such an agreement. I want to see peace in the Middle East, as do most Americans and most Europeans, but let us be more aware of the costs which will be entailed and let the public know.

I am totally in support of Mr. RITTER's and Mr. LEVITAS' efforts to ask the European nations to share the costs of this agreement since they will be beneficiaries of a peace agreement. But I urge my colleagues to ask for a more full accounting of these costs, with realistic projections of additional aid which may be needed in the future.

The Dannemeyer amendment merely asks for a better examination of the costs of the treaty in an effort to stop open-ended expenditures. It does not work against the peace effort or this supplemental authorization. I hope that my colleagues will support this attempt to provide the American taxpayer with an honest estimation of the costs of the treaty.

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Chairman, while no one would argue that the cost of war far exceeds the cost of peace and while everyone hopes that the Israel-Egyptian accords will, indeed, produce a lasting peace, I am concerned about what these accords will finally cost the American taxpayer.

While it is gratifying to read, in the Foreign Affairs Committee report, that the administration has assured us there are no commitments, understandings, or assurances that have not been made public, I painfully recall that, at the time of the Panama Canal Treaty debate, there were similar assurances, since rescinded, that there would be no costs to